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COMPLETE AND FINAL VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

by A. M. Kovalev

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## THE COMPLETE AND FINAL VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE USSR

Following is a translation of the Russian-language monograph Polnaya i okonchatel'naya pobeda sotsializma v SSSR (The Complete and Final Victory of Socialism in the USSR) by A. M. Kovalev, Moscow, Znaniye Publishing House, 1959, pages 1-32.

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### To the Reader:

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Reviewing the glorious route traversed by our Motherland under the leadership of the Communist Party during the years of the Soviet regime, we are again and again convinced of the genius of the Leninist design for the building of Communism in our country.

As early as the period when the Party and the Soviet people were taking their first steps along the new unexplored path, V. I. Lenin said: "...in beginning the socialist transformations, we must clearly set before ourselves a goal toward which these transformations will ultimately be directed, namely, the goal of creating a Communist society..." (V. I. Lenin, Soch. [Works], Vol. 27, page 103).

Thanks to the massive organizational work of the Party and the inspired labor of the Soviet peoples, the Soviet Union has taken a decisive step along the route toward achieving this goal--it has constructed a socialist society. Socialism in the USSR has triumphed completely and finally. "There are no forces in the world today," said N. S. Khrushchev at the XXI Congress of the CPSU, "which could resurrect capitalism in our country, or crush the socialist camp. The danger of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union has been eliminated. This means that socialism has triumphed not only completely, but finally."

This conclusion of the XXI Congress of the CPSU reflects the fundamental historical turning point which occurred both in the development of the Soviet Union and in the worldwide emancipation movement during the last 10 years. It implants in the heart of the Soviet people, in workers of the countries of people's democracy, and in all progressive peoples of the world the belief in the final triumph of Communism.

#### The Complete Victory of Socialism in the USSR

The question of the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR is inseparably linked with the characteristic features of the proletarian socialist revolution and the process of Communist socio-economic development. The proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are only the beginning of the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism. The socialist revolution begins with the absence of ready-made forms of a socialist structure, and its principal task is not only the seizure of power but the creation of a new socialist base which, in contrast to the capitalistic, takes shape not before but after the seizure of power by the proletariat. Hence, there unavoidably arise the problems of deciding the question of "who will win" within the country, and of the possibility of the complete victory of socialism in any one country.

Analyzing the new historical situation obtaining during the period of imperialism, V. I. Lenin came to the conclusion that the transition from capitalism to socialism on an international scale could not be accomplished as a single act, but that this transition is more or less a prolonged historical process, involving a gradual shedding of the

chains of imperialism in the various countries to the extent that revolutionary prerequisites mature in them.

"The development of capitalism to a higher degree," wrote Lenin, "is accomplished nonuniformly in different countries. It cannot be otherwise in a trading economy. Hence, the inalterable conclusion: socialism cannot triumph simultaneously in all countries, it will succeed initially in one or several countries, while for a certain period of time the remainder will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois. This must cause not only friction, but the direct striving on the part of the bourgeois of other countries, toward the complete rout of the victorious proletariat of the socialist state" (V. I. Lenin, Soch., Vol. 23, p. 67). Naturally, under these conditions the solution of the problem of "who will win" is linked with the relationship of class forces not only within a given country, but on a worldwide scale, i.e., the problem arises not only of the complete, but of the final, victory of socialism.

Thus, in the struggle for political power the proletariat of the individual countries are already beset by two different types of contradictions: internal and external. The internal contradictions are those which exist between the proletariat and "its own" national bourgeoisie. The external contradictions are the contradictions between the proletariat of a given country and world imperialism.

The success of revolution in one country is possible only if the working class of a given country can rely on the support of the majority of workers, thus permitting it to wrest the political power from the bourgeoisie, to consolidate its dictatorship, and to draw the majority of the population, above all the peasantry, into the course of socialist construction.

At the same time, such international conditions are necessary as under which world imperialism would be deprived of the opportunity to crush the victorious proletariat in one country, and under which the socialist state could within a more or less prolonged period of time hold its ground against capitalist encirclement.

The first set of conditions is determined by the relationship and arrangement of class forces within a given country. The second set of conditions is determined by the state of forces along the entire front of world imperialism as a whole.

On the basis of a profound Marxian analysis of the world historical situation, Lenin showed that during the period of imperialism these conditions were created both within the individual countries, particularly in Russia, and in the international arena as a whole.

The triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia was a shining confirmation of the Leninist analysis of imperialism and of its conclusion on the possibility of victory for proletarian revolution in one country.

The course of historical events had been so shaped that, initially, the chains of imperialism were broken only in a single country--Russia, the revolution having triumphed in a country where, in Lenin's words, there was for capitalism "a sounder economic base than for

Communism" (V. I. Lenin, Soch., Vol. 31, p. 483).

In spite of this, the working class of Russia, allied with the peasantry, overthrew the political might of the bourgeoisie and undermined its economic position. However, the bourgeoisie still retained relatively strong positions in the economy. It still had the capital, international ties, etc. The situation imperiously posed the question: can the first socialist state in the world, by its own efforts and without overt aid from outside, overcome the bourgeoisie economically, resolve its internal contradiction, replace the capitalist base with a socialist one, and build socialism? And, altogether, what are the prospects for this construction from the standpoint of international conditions, considering that world imperialism will attempt to restore the capitalist order in the USSR?

Fundamentally, the question of the possible victory of socialism in one country surrounded by capitalist states was solved by V. I. Lenin. He showed that the possession of political power and key economic positions by the proletariat 1) facilitates the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie within the limits of one country, 2) permits the proletariat to successfully resolve its contradictions with the peasantry, and 3) hampers the struggle of the ruling classes of the capitalist countries against the victorious proletarian revolution in one country.

In accordance with this, Lenin wrote that we have "all the essentials for building a complete socialist society" (V. I. Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, p. 428).

V. I. Lenin also taught that the intensification of the contradictions between capitalist countries owing to a divided world, between the proletariat and bourgeoisie of capitalist countries, and between imperialism and colonial and dependent countries, leads to a weakening of the whole system of world imperialism, hampers or makes impossible the simultaneous action of the bourgeoisie of a number of countries in a united front against the victorious revolution in one country, and thereby facilitates the building of socialism under the conditions of capitalist encirclement. "As a result of all these conditions," wrote Lenin, "international imperialism proved not to be in a position to stifle Soviet Russia, although it was much stronger than she, but was forced for a time to acknowledge or half-acknowledge her and enter into trade agreements with her" (V. I. Lenin, Soch., Vol. 32, p. 429).

The internal and external conditions ensuring the victory of socialism in one country are the natural result of the effect of the economic laws of development of society during the period of imperialism, which have intensified the contradictions of capitalism and placed on the agenda the transition to socialism. However, while imperialism exists in the world, opposing tendencies will continue to operate: the striving toward unification of the chief capitalist countries in the struggle against victorious socialism, the possibility of crushing the working class movement in one or another country or group of countries, the possibility of an ebbing national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, etc. All this facilitates the



struggle of imperialist forces against the country of socialism. Moreover, as long as imperialism is stronger than socialism, there remains a real threat of capitalist restoration in the first country to experience a victorious proletarian revolution. To eliminate this possibility of restoration, a definite stage in the development of socialism is necessary. Therefore, laying bare the opportunistic assertions on the impossibility of building socialism in our country, V. I. Lenin at the same time emphasized that, while the socialist state remains "a solitary outskirts of the entire capitalist world,...to think...about the disappearance of some or other dangers would be a completely ludicrous phantasy and utopianism. Of course, while such fundamental opposites remain, there remain also dangers from which there is no escape" (V. I. Lenin, Soch., Vol. 31, p. 462).

Therefore Lenin said that "final victory is possible only on a worldwide scale..." (V. I. Lenin, Soch., Vol. 27, p. 336). Revealing the historical prospects, V. I. Lenin expressed firm belief in the inevitability of the final victory of socialism.

Thus, a thorough consideration of the living dialectic of life itself permitted Lenin to work out a single, true, step-by-step revolutionary line in the question of the victory of socialism in one country. On the other hand, a lack of understanding of real-life processes was one of the factors which led the Trotskyites, Zinovyevites, and other defectors into the morass of treason. The enemies of the Communist Party have asserted that the working class of our country, through their own efforts, are incapable under conditions of capitalist encirclement of overpowering the internal bourgeoisie, will be unable to ensure the transition of the peasantry to the course of collectivization, and will not succeed in surmounting the internal contradictions and build socialism. The resolution of all these contradictions, in their opinion, must be postponed until the victory of socialism in the countries of Western Europe and America.

Rehashing the opportunistic dogmas of the leaders of the II International, the foes of Leninism have asserted that, in view of the superiority of the forces of the capitalist world, the country of socialism will not hold its ground within the capitalist encirclement, "revolutionary Russia" will not hold fast in the face of a "conservative Europe," and therefore, they feel, the problem of building socialism in the USSR must be put off until the victory of revolution in the countries of Western Europe and America.

In the struggle against the Trotskyite-Zinovyevite doubting Thomases and defectors, our Party has been strictly guided by Leninist teachings on the possibility of the total victory of a socialist society in one individual country. Substantiating and developing the Leninist tenet, the Party pointed out the inadmissibility of mixing the two sets of contradictions: the internal and the external. In accordance with this, the problem of the victory of socialism must be divided into two problems: the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, and its final victory.

Considering the question of the complete and final victory of socialism as a question embracing the problem of the interrelationship of classes within a country and on an international scale, the Party has shown that the possibility of the complete victory of socialism in one country lies in the seizure of power by the proletariat, in the use of this power for overpowering the bourgeoisie and building a complete socialist society, and in the resolution of the contradictions between the proletariat and the peasantry by the internal forces of the country. The final victory of socialism in one country, however, presumes a full guarantee against intervention, meaning also against the restoration of the bourgeois order, a guarantee which is impossible without total revolution in a number of countries at the very least.

Thus, while the complete victory of socialism within a country is linked with the overpowering of "its own" national bourgeoisie and with the resolution of internal contradictions and the building of socialism through the internal efforts of the country, final victory is linked with the overpowering of the international bourgeoisie and the resolution of the contradictions of world imperialism.

While the complete victory of socialism is determined by the relationship of forces within a country and can be achieved by the efforts of the workers of one country, final victory is determined by the relationship of forces both within a country and on a worldwide scale, and is the result of the combined efforts of a number of countries.

The difference between the complete and the final victory of socialism proceeds naturally from the fact that in a class society the solution of economic problems is accomplished through the political interrelationships of classes both within a country and on an international scale. It reflects also the fact that the victory of socialism in a given country solves only part of the more general problem of building socialism on a worldwide scale.

However, the complete and the final victory of socialism cannot be absolutely contraposed, since they are organically linked and represent different sides of a single world process. Inasmuch as the internal bourgeoisie are a part of the international bourgeoisie, and internal and external contradictions are born of imperialism as a whole, the complete and the final victory of socialism represent merely different stages in the resolution of contradictions of world imperialism, stages in the victory of the world revolutionary movement as a single whole. Further, the complete victory of socialism within a country brings its final victory nearer, since the strengthening of socialism in one country weakens world capitalism as a whole and makes restoration of the capitalist order all the more impossible. In turn, final victory in a system of socialist countries facilitates and hastens the complete victory of socialism in individual countries.

Guided by Leninist principles and repulsing the fierce attacks of the foes of Leninism, the Party adopted a firm and decisive course toward the construction of a socialist society and the achievement of the complete victory of socialism in the USSR.



Exposing the Trotskyites and Zinovyevites, the Party showed that the absence of a guarantee against restoration still does not signify the fatal inevitability of capitalist restoration in our country, since the capitalist world is torn by irreconcilable internal contradictions which, in combination with the steadfastly growing defensive might of the Soviet state, can neutralize world imperialism and thwart the reactionary attempts of the aggressive circles of the capitalist world to resurrect capitalism in the USSR.

In addition, the Soviet Union, through its successes in economic development, has steadfastly changed the relationship of forces in its favor, influencing the course of international events in the interests of the workers, hastening and stimulating the victory of the working class in all countries, and thereby lessening the chances for the restoration of the capitalist order.

As early as in the first years of the Soviet regime, V. I. Lenin wrote: "There is no doubt that the socialist revolution in Europe must and will ensue. All our hopes for the final victory of socialism are based on this confidence and on this scientific prediction" (V. I. Lenin, *(Soch., Vol. 26, p. 402)*).

This confidence is based on the fact that the victory of revolution in our country is part of the world revolutionary movement, a product of the conditions of imperialism, and that those deep-seated processes which gave birth to the revolution in Russia are operating also in other capitalist countries, systematically undermining the foundations of capitalism. Believing in the triumph of socialism and repulsing the attacks of the foes of Leninism, the Party directed our country along the route of socialist industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture and cultural revolution, for only thus was it possible to ensure the complete victory of socialism and to create a maximum guarantee against restoration of the capitalist order in the USSR.

Party policy was crowned with a true world-historical triumph. Despite the lack of victory of a socialist revolution in other countries, the working class of our country, in concert with the peasantry, under conditions of capitalist encirclement resolved the internal contradictions and built a socialist society. As early as 1932, the foundation of a socialist economy was laid in our country, i.e., the principles of socialism were created.

In the decisions of the XVII Party Conference (January-February 1932) it was stated: "A most important result of socialist construction in the First Five-Year Plan was the conclusive undermining of the roots of capitalism in the country, thus predetermining the total liquidation of capitalist elements and the complete obliteration of classes. Completion of the laying of the socialist foundation in the USSR signifies that the Leninist question of "who will win" was decided against capitalism in favor of socialism, completely and incontrovertibly, both in the city and the country" (KPSS v rezolyutsiyakh i resheniyakh s"ezdov, konferentsiy i plenumov TsK /CPSU in the Resolutions and Decisions of the congresses, conferences, and plenums of the Central

Committee/7, Part III, p. 149, Gospolitizdat, 1954).

However, at that time agriculture still preserved a small-scale commodity production. About 40 percent of all peasants in the country had not yet been united into kolkhozes. Thus the socialist structure, although it had become a decisive one both in industry and in agriculture, still remained a disunited structure in the economy of the country. Therefore, only around 1936, when socialist production relationships had become consolidated in all spheres of the national economy, when all exploiting classes were finally liquidated, did the socialist order the USSR gain complete victory.

Summing up the historical route traversed by the Party and the people, the XVIII Congress of the CPSU (1939) noted that "as the result of the successful fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan (1933-1937), the USSR has resolved the fundamental historical problem of the Second Five-Year Plan--the final liquidation of all exploiting classes, the complete obliteration of factors leading to the exploitation of man by man and the division of society into exploiters and the exploited. In our country the first phase of Communism--socialism--has been basically accomplished" (*Ibid.*, p 336). The Congress proclaimed the entrance of the Soviet society upon a new historical phase of its development--the completion of the building of socialism and the gradual transition to Communism.

The victory of socialism in the USSR signified that the working class, in union with the peasantry and on the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, achieved complete economic victory over the bourgeoisie and dislodged it from all spheres of the country's economy. As a result of the policy of agricultural collectivization, the most numerous exploiting class--the kulaks-- was liquidated, and millions of individual peasant farms were united into kolkhozes. The internal contradictions between the proletariat and the peasantry were thereby resolved in favor of socialism. As the result of the liquidation of private ownership of the implements and means of production, the socialist structure became the sole structure in the country's economy. On the basis of the policy of industrialization, a material-technical basis of socialism was created in our country, and economic channels for the emergence of exploiting classes were sealed off.

The carrying out of a cultural revolution, the affirmation of the undivided sway of the socialist ideology in the Soviet society, the creation of a moral-political unity and the friendship of peoples, and the adoption of a new constitution legislatively strengthening the socialist transformations in the USSR were evidence of the fact that socialism in the USSR was victorious not only in the economic field, but in the political as well.

Thus, putting into practice the inspired Leninist design, the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party ensured the creation of a socialist method of production and the corresponding socialist superstructure; achieved the victory of a new economic basis over the capitalist basis; completely liquidated capitalism in all spheres

of the national economy; affirmed the undivided supremacy of socialist ownership, socialist production relationships, and socialist ideology and culture; and liquidated the exploiting classes.

The victory of socialism in the USSR, opening a new chapter in world history, was the result of the heroic efforts of the working class of the USSR in close alliance with the peasantry, the possession of political power by the workers, and the wise policy of the Communist Party. This victory would have been impossible without certain international conditions, without the assistance of the working class of capitalist countries, the rise of the national-liberation movement in the colonies, the intensification of the contradictions of imperialism.

The complete victory of socialism, climaxing the transition from capitalism to the first phase of Communism, cannot be identified with the degree of economic maturity of socialism in one or another period of its development or with the stages in the outgrowth of the first phase of Communism into its second phase. While the first case concerns a transition from one socioeconomic order to another, the second concerns the level of development of one and the same system--the Communist socioeconomic system.

Socialism, as every social system, does not stand still. It is constantly developing and maturing. The building of socialism and the gradual transition to Communism each have their own stages of development.

In 1939 the Communist Party emphasized that socialism in our country had "in the main" been built up, since there still remained elements of private ownership and 5.6 percent of the population consisted of individual peasants, noncooperative cottage industries, craftsmen, etc. The material-productive base of socialism was still insufficient to satisfy in proper measure the needs of the workers for consumer goods and large-scale housing construction. The consistent adoption of the principle of distribution according to work output still met with certain difficulties, there were gaps in the field of cultural development, significant vestiges of capitalism still survived in the minds of the people, etc. Since that time our country has advanced far along the road toward completing the building of a socialist society and the gradual transition to Communism. The XXI Congress of the CPSU proclaimed that our country, as a result of the fundamental transformations in all areas of social life brought about by the victory of socialism, has entered a new historical period in its development--a period of the largescale building up of a Communist society. Thus we are now at a new stage on the road toward the outgrowth of socialism into Communism, a new stage of maturity of one and the same Communist socioeconomic structure.

The victory of socialism in the USSR has had a great transforming influence on all humanity. Thanks to the strengthening of socialism, the Soviet Union has utterly demolished the forces of international militant reaction and rescued the people of the world from fascist enslavement. The victory over fascist Germany and imperialist Japan created the conditions for the successful struggle by the peoples of

China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries of Europe and Asia to strengthen the people's democratic order. The victory of the Soviet people in World War II assisted largely in hastening the decay of the colonial system of imperialism.

Thus, contrary to the assertions of the II International theoreticians, the working class of Russia not only triumphed over the internal bourgeoisie and resolved in favor of socialism its contradictions with the peasantry, but emerged as a great force for the world socialist movement.

The building up of socialism in the USSR concluded a whole historical phase, in the course of which victory was achieved over one of the forces of imperialism--the Russian bourgeoisie. The complete victory of the socialist society in the USSR at the same time brought nearer the final victory of socialism over world capitalism.

However, at the time socialism in our country attained complete victory, this victory still was not final. The Soviet state, even after the victory of socialism, continued to remain a solitary island in the ocean of the capitalist world, which possessed a decisive superiority in population, territory, and level of economic development. Suffice to say that on the eve of the Second World War, the Soviet state possessed only 17 percent of the world's territory, 9 percent of its population, and about 10 percent of its industry. Although as a result of a whole series of conditions, a "peaceful breathing spell" was established, it was temporary and precarious, for the existing relationship of forces was fraught with the great danger of military intervention against the Soviet state.

Of course, the socialist state enjoyed the widespread sympathy and moral support of the oppressed and exploited masses of all countries, which in large part facilitated the creation of the "peaceful breathing spell" and, subsequently, the destruction of fascist Germany. However, at that time our country did not have governmental support from the working class of other countries, while moral assistance alone was insufficient to establish a full guarantee against capitalist restoration in our country. For final victory, the victory of the revolution was necessary, at least in several countries, and a decisive change in the relationship of forces in favor of socialism in the world arena.

#### The New Arrangement of Class Forces in the World Arena After the Second World War, and the Liquidation of the Capitalist Encirclement of the USSR

A decisive role in the achievement of the final victory of socialism in the USSR was played by a number of factors of an international order, the foremost of these being the emergence of socialism beyond the limits of one country, the development and strengthening of the world socialist camp, and a new weakening of world capitalism as a result of fascism's downfall during the Second World War. All this in its totality led to the liquidation of the capitalist encirclement of the USSR.

The most important stages in the path toward achieving the final victory of socialism, if we take only the international side of the question, were, first, that the Soviet state, having repulsed the attack of Hitlerite Germany and quickly recovering from the ravages of war, became an even more indestructible bastion of peace, national independence, and freedom. This circumstance to a great extent heightened the attractive force of socialism and made aimless the vain attempts of imperialists to hinder its victorious march.

Second, as a result of the victory of the people's democratic revolutions, the imperialist bourgeoisie in a number of countries were overthrown, and China, Poland, and Czechoslovakia entered on the path of socialist construction, as did other people's democratic countries, all of whom, together with the Soviet Union, formed an indestructible world socialist camp, numbering today about a billion people.

The formation of a world socialist camp played a decisive role in changing the relationship of forces between capitalism and socialism in favor of socialism, in changing the historical destiny of mankind. While the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution called into question the very existence of world capitalism, the emergence of socialism beyond the bounds of one country brought the entire capitalist world to the brink of catastrophe.

Third, as a result of the prolonged manly struggle of the colonies and dependent countries, the infamous colonial system of capitalism began to crack at the seams and hundreds of millions of former colonial peoples entered on the path toward independence, having formed with the socialist camp a vast segment of the world, embracing over 1.5 billion people. The decay of the colonial system shook the structure of world imperialism to its foundations. The home front of imperialism was swept away and the power of imperialism was broken forever.

Fourth, the new intensification of class contradictions within the imperialist countries, and those between the individual imperialist countries, still further undermined the entire system of world imperialism and made it shaky and unstable.

Generalizing the new situation which developed after the Second World War, N. S. Khrushchev, in a concluding speech at the XXI Congress of the CPSU, said: "Great changes have taken place in the world today. There are countries in the world socialist system and there are countries in the world imperialist system. But there are also countries which, while not socialist, can neither be included in the imperialist system. These countries, having won national independence through a struggle for liberation, wish to go their own way, by-passing the capitalist stage of development, so that, having done with colonial oppression, they can set about constructing a society on different beginnings."

Thus, after the Second World War there occurred a fundamental turning point in the position of imperialism and in the development of socialism; in the liberation movement of colonial and dependent peoples; in the state of economics, politics, and ideology; in the arrangement of the class forces of all countries; in the state of all contradictions



of society, in the whole aspect of the contemporary world.

For example, while in 1927 when our country represented a solitary island in the ocean of the capitalist world, out of 1.905 billion people inhabiting the earth, 363 million, or 19 percent of the population, lived in the large imperialist countries; 1.134 billion, or 60 percent, lived in the dependent countries and colonies; 264 million, or 13.8 percent, lived in the remaining countries; and only 143 million, or 7.5 percent, in the country of socialism--in 1957, i.e., 30 years later, the situation had changed radically.

From a total world population of 2.8 billion the socialist system possesses about one billion people, or 35 percent of the entire population. The countries liberated from colonial dependence comprise 760 million persons, or 27 percent. The colonies number 160 million people, i.e., 6 percent. The imperialist states contain over 550 million people, or about 20 percent. The remaining capitalist countries possess over 350 million people, or about 12 percent of the world population.

While earlier the capitalist system was predominant in the world economy, the socialist system constituting an insignificant part, the capitalist system has now narrowed while the socialist system has considerably expanded. From exploitation and national oppression, the axis of world history has shifted sharply to the side of socialism, national independence, and freedom. Such an abrupt turn in the destinies of hundreds of millions of people in such a short period of time has never occurred in any previous epoch in the history of man.

As a result of this, the competition between socialism and capitalism is already emerging under present conditions as a competition between two world social systems developing under conditions wherein the imperialist system has been severely weakened and its sphere of influence narrowed, while the sphere of socialism has expanded.

Owing to the fundamental shifts in world historical development, the external conditions for the development of the Soviet state underwent a sharp change, as did the world socialist system as a whole.

Before the Second World War there existed only one socialist state; now there is a system of socialist countries. Before the Second World War the Soviet Union found itself amid the international isolation of hostile imperialist states, receiving only moral support from the workers of all countries; now the USSR is building Communism in close cooperation with the countries of people's democracy, relying in its development on their governmental support, and in turn extending them assistance in the building up of socialism. Previously, the colonies and dependent countries were incapable of rendering effective aid to the socialist state in its struggle for peace. Now the nations, having acquired their independence, are conducting a peace-loving policy, thereby lending the Soviet state and the entire socialist camp great support in its noble struggle to preserve the peace and safety of nations.

Thus, after the Second World War there occurred a pronounced strengthening of the political positions of socialism in the international arena.



As a result of the world-historical victories of the Soviet Union and the transformation of socialism into a world system, there occurred also a sharp change in the internal conditions of socialist development, while the economic competition between the two world social systems--socialist and capitalist--entered into its new historical phase.

This change is characterized by the fact that, first having built up socialism, the Soviet Union entered a new historical period in its development--a period of the large-scale construction of a Communist society. The further growth of the economic might of the USSR, the strengthening of socialist relationships in city and country, the increase in the material standard of living of the Soviet peoples, and the growth of the socialist consciousness of the whole Soviet society strengthened still further the positions of socialism and permitted it to set about on a large-scale front to build a Communist society in our country.

Second, People's China and other countries of the socialist camp, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union, are proceeding along the path of socialism with heroic strides.

In the countries of people's democracy the socialist sector is steadfastly being strengthened; one of the most difficult problems of the socialist revolution--the conversion of the peasantry into a system of cooperatives--is successfully being solved; the front of socialist forms of economy is expanding; and the remnants of the exploiting classes are being overcome. A number of countries already have entered the period of completing the construction of a socialist society, while other countries are on the eve of this period. At present, in the world socialist system as a whole, small-scale commodity production has been relegated to a secondary position, while the socialist structure is the completely dominant and sole guiding force in the entire national economy.

Third, as a result of the economic growth of the USSR and other socialist countries, there occurred a gigantic historical surge in the level of industrial production of the socialist countries, which further reinforced the material base of socialism. As is well known, the USSR today occupies first place in Europe in volume of industrial production, and second in the world.

For example, while in 1929 the production of pig iron in our country amounted to only 5.5 million tons, that of electrical power to 6.465 billion kilowatt-hours--in 1958 our country smelted 55 million tons of steel, produced 113 million tons of oil, 496 million tons of coal, generated 233 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical power, etc.

Even in comparison with prewar 1940, the level of industrial production in the Soviet Union increased more than fourfold. While previously the Soviet Union surpassed the US only in the rate of its economic development, it now surpasses the US in absolute increase of industrial production. Thus, beginning in 1953 the average absolute increase in production was 1.2 times greater in the USSR than in the US.

Intensifying the competition with the more developed imperialist countries, the USSR is setting itself the task of overtaking them within the next 10-12 years in per capita production.

The transformation of socialism into a world system led to a sharp increase in the level of industrial production of the socialist world and to an increase in its share of world industrial production. While in 1937 the Soviet nation mined only 127 million tons of coal, in 1955 the coal mined in all the socialist countries had already reached 710 million tons, a sixfold increase. In 1958 the total coal output in all the socialist countries was 1,222.3 billion tons. In 1937 the USSR generated 36 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical power, while in 1958 all the countries of socialism generated 362.5 billion kilowatt-hours, exceeding the 1937 level by 10 times. In 1937 the USSR made 18 million tons of steel, while in 1958 all the socialist countries smelted 83.2 tons, denoting an increase in steel production of 3.5 times.

While in 1917 the socialist system could claim only 3 percent of the world's industrial output, and 10 percent in 1937, by 1958 the countries of the socialist system claimed over one third of the industrial output, almost half of the wheat, and 43 percent of the cotton.

As a result of the fundamental changes which took place in all the countries of the socialist system, the socialist structure became not only a leading but the dominant force in the whole national economy of the world socialist system. The class structure of the people's democratic countries also was changed, and the political bases of the dictatorship of the proletariat were strengthened.

Owing to the gigantic upsurge in the economy, the military potential of the Soviet Union and of the world socialist system as a whole sharply increased. It is enough to note that the Soviet Union is now lot-producing intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of striking any target in any part of the globe. All this has changed fundamentally the entire modern military-strategic situation.

And although the share of the capitalist countries in the over-all volume of industrial output still exceeds that of the socialist countries, and the capitalist world surpasses the socialist world territorially, this nevertheless does not give the ideologists of imperialism grounds to speak of the superiority of the forces of capitalism over socialism.

It should not be forgotten that in a number of important branches of science and technology the Soviet Union is now forging ahead of the developed capitalist countries, including the US; evidence of this is the launching of artificial earth satellites and the Soviet cosmic rocket. But the point lies not only in the level of development of science and technology. The experience of history shows that the real relationship of forces cannot be defined by arithmetical calculations of the level of industrial production or by references to geographical factors.

Before the Second World War the USSR was the only socialist country, while the imperialist states surpassed it tenfold in economic indices; and still the attempts of the imperialists to overcome the USSR by force were shattered against the invincible might of the Soviet social

and state system. Moreover, it was the Soviet Union that crushed the fascist beast which easily had gained victory after victory over the capitalist countries.

To determine the real relationship of forces existing in the world, it is necessary to take into account the totality of economic, political, and ideological factors underlying the development of capitalism and socialism in the present epoch. Apart from the level of material production, these must include the nature of the socioeconomic and political structure of states in the different systems; the relationships between the different classes and social groups, and also between nationalities in one or another country; the nature of relationships between states in one or another socioeconomic system, their population, the degree of sympathy and support of these systems on the part of the workers of all countries; the degree of influence of these countries on world politics; etc.

And if the socialist and imperialist camps are examined from the standpoint of all these factors, there cannot be the smallest doubt that the socialist system is now no longer inferior in power to the capitalist system.

Owing to the strengthening of socialist production relationships, there developed in the USSR an unprecedented moral-political unity of the Soviet society. Socialism has been freed of class conflicts and presents a picture of friendly cooperation between the workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia. The socialist nations of the Soviet Union are united in a feeling of indissoluble brotherly friendship and cooperation. Socialist ideology has become completely dominant in the Soviet society. As the socialist positions are strengthened, these relationships between peoples are becoming the rule for the development of all socialist countries.

The socialist camp represents a single economic and political system. The economic law of anarchy and competition inherent in capitalism gave way under the conditions of the socialist camp to the law of planned proportional development. The uneven, spasmodic development of individual countries under capitalism was replaced by the steady, planned development of all socialist countries, by a raising up of the less developed countries to the level of the advanced countries.

The international division of labor in the socialist camp was directed toward ensuring a more complete and systematic utilization of the natural resources and output of individual countries in their own interests, in the interest of the development of the entire world socialist system.

On this principle, fundamentally new relationships developed among the countries of socialism, based on a singleness of purpose and the universality of the socialist ideal and of cooperation such as has never been known in the history of man. The interrelationships of countries of the socialist camp were infused with the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

Of great assistance in the struggle of the socialist camp for peace are the peoples fighting for their independence. The countries of the world socialist system, together with the countries leading the manly struggle against imperialism and colonialism, already surpass the imperialist states in territory, population, and natural resources.

A characteristic feature of the times is that socialism is on the ascent, the socialist states are uniting ever more closely; imperialism, on the other hand, is declining, and the whole imperialist system is being torn by irreconcilable contradictions.

The present position of the imperialist camp differs sharply from that in which it found itself after the First World War. Then, as is well known, after the revolutionary tremors, there occurred a temporary and partial stabilization of capitalism and an ebb period in the revolutionary movement. Now, despite every effort of the imperialist forces, they are incapable of shoring up the toppling structure of capitalism. The flame of the revolutionary and the national-liberation struggle is flaring up ever more brightly on the periphery as well as in the centers of imperialism, shaking the structure of the capitalist system to its foundations.

The recent period is evidence of the further weakening of the positions of imperialism in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. More and more countries are entering upon the path toward national independence, emerging from direct subservience to the imperialist powers; are ceasing to be a reserve of imperialism, thus weakening the imperialist system.

The growing international isolation of imperialism is a characteristic feature of the present historical epoch.

The imperialist propagandists, and the revisionists in the Communist movement in concert with them, are attempting to paint a picture of well-being, of a "community of interests," purportedly prevailing in the countries of the imperialist camp. But can there be any talk of unity there if class wars between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are raging with unremitting force? and the number of strikes grows, while the interests of monopoly are in irreconcilable contradiction with the interests of the overwhelming majority of society?

It is sufficient to note that while during the 10-year period (1930-1940) before the Second World War the number of strikes in the 11 largest imperialist countries was 67,000, this number increased to 101,000 during the 10 postwar years (1945-1954). On the eve of the Second World War (in 1935) there were only 786,000 people in the ranks of the Communist Party of the capitalist countries. Now, the Communist membership in the countries of capitalism has reached an impressive figure--5 million persons. Many Communist Parties, including those in imperialist countries, have become mass parties, with a following consisting of broad segments of the people. Thus, for example, the Italian Communist Party numbers about 2 million members, while the number of votes cast for the socialists and Communists in the recent parliamentary elections amounted to 11 million.

In their struggle against the progressive forces, the reactionary bourgeoisie of the capitalist countries are passing to overt dictatorship within the country, practicing "power politics," and preparing for war through their foreign policy. But this is a sign not of strength, but of the weakness of the imperialist bourgeoisie, who are incapable of maintaining their rule by parliamentary methods and who have become so muddled that, despite the sad lessons of the First and Second World Wars, are forced to seize on war as a drowning man seizes at a straw.

A growing precariousness and instability is characteristic of the domestic situation in the capitalist countries under present conditions.

In attempting to overcome their internal contradictions, the imperialists of the United States, England, West Germany, and other countries are throwing together aggressive military blocs against the countries of the socialist camp and the peoples' liberation movement. The infamous North Atlantic Pact, SEATO, SENTO, and others serve precisely this improper aim. The creation of these blocs vividly demonstrates that the ruling classes of England, France, Italy, West Germany, Japan, etc., having lost the support of their own people, are unable single-handedly, alone, to maintain their power over the people but are forced ever increasingly to resort to the aim of the chief stronghold of imperialism--the US. The imperialist camp, however, headed by the US, is incapable of extinguishing the fires of the people's revolutionary movement, which are flaring up in various parts of the globe. Its feverish scraping together of aggressive military blocs also attests to the weakness of present-day imperialism.

At the same time, the common interest of the ruling circles of capitalist countries in the struggle against socialism to strengthen the capitalist system does not exclude a savage, ever intensifying political and economic struggle among the capitalist states. And no blocs of whatever kind can eliminate this.

It is no accident, therefore, that there recently was observed a new intensification of contradictions among the major capitalist countries and a weakening of the military alignments of imperialism. More and more countries are striving for a position of neutrality, for nonparticipation in the military blocs.

The firm and systematic struggle of the Soviet Union, as well as of all socialist countries, for peace and in the defense of the national independence of peoples, has won for them the deep sympathy and support of hundreds of millions of people in all corners of the world. In this connection, after the Second World War the international solidarity and organization of workers of all countries increased sharply.

Thus, for example, the World Federation of Trade Unions numbers today about 90 million members, the International Democratic Federation of Women about 200 million, the World Federation of Democratic Youth 85 million, while the organized front in the struggle for peace numbers hundreds of millions of people. The socialist camp is acquiring millions of new partisans in the capitalist countries.



Thus in today's international political development, two diametrically opposed historical tendencies are clearly manifested. The positions of the socialist camp are becoming ever stronger, thanks to the steadfast development of all the socialist countries, the strengthening in them of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, the spread of economic cooperation among the countries of socialism, the development of cooperation between them and the countries liberated from imperialist oppression, and the increasing solidarity between the workers of the countries of socialism and the workers of the whole world. The capitalist world, however, is steadily weakening, torn by contradictions between the workers and the ruling classes; between imperialism and the colonial and dependent countries and countries which have embarked on the path of independent development; and, finally, among the imperialist states themselves. All this leads to the fact that the scales are tipping more in favor of socialism to the detriment of capitalism.

The facts show that the true might of the world socialist camp, around which all progressive humanity is rallying ever more closely, has become far greater than the real might of the world capitalist system.

This might is determined, first, by the relatively high level of economic potential in the socialist countries; second, by the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist in a number of branches of science and technology; third, by the solid internal structure of the socialist states, and the increasing precariousness of the internal situation in the countries of imperialism; fourth, by the growing solidarity among socialist countries, and the lack of such solidarity among states of the imperialist system; and fifth, the ever-growing support of the socialist camp on the part of the progressive forces of the world, and the increasing isolation of the imperialist bourgeoisie both within individual countries and on a worldwide scale. In this connection, the share of the imperialist countries in world politics has dropped sharply, while, on the other hand, that of the socialist countries has grown immeasurably.

Before the Second World War, when the USSR was the only socialist country, and the capitalist orbit encompassed more than 2 billion people, the capitalist system with its unrestrained exploitation and oppression of peoples, its crises and predatory wars, was the dominant economic system on the greatest part of the planet. It is no accident, therefore, that, despite the opposition of the people, the bourgeoisie succeeded in breaking the resistance of the workers and in establishing a fascist order in a number of countries. It succeeded also in crushing the movement of dependent peoples and in preserving the infamous colonial system. It succeeded finally, despite the opposition of the people, in unleashing a new world war.

A different situation was created after the Second World War, when the sphere of operation of the laws of capitalism was sharply narrowed, while that of socialism widened. Capitalism today has lost its dominant position on our planet. The socialist camp, on the other hand, is now in a position to exert an ever more decisive influence on the world political situation and to change it in the interests of the



workers. Now, the course of world events is determined not only and not so much by the capitalist system as by the world system of socialism, whose role is constantly enlarging.

This can be seen, for example, in the fact that imperialism has been unable to prevent the disintegration of the shameful colonial system. As further evidence of this is the fact, as pointed out at the XX Congress of the CPSU, that under contemporary conditions wars are not fatally inevitable, although the economic principle of their origin still remains.

The people were unable to prevent Italy's war against Albania in 1935, or Japan's aggression against China in 1937. But the American aggression against Lebanon in 1958, as well as the Anglo-Franco-Israeli war against Egypt in 1956, was halted. All these facts attest to the progressive decline of the capitalist system and to the superiority of the forces of socialism.

The inspired prediction of Lenin is being realized: the prediction that almost 40 years ago posed the question of the transformation of the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one, i.e., a dictatorship existing in one country and having no determining influence on world politics, into an international one, i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat of several leading countries at least, capable of exerting a decisive influence on world politics.

These conditions gave a different cast to the question of war against the socialist camp, of capitalist encirclement, and of restoration of the capitalist order in the socialist countries.

After the First World War, when the Soviet state alone opposed the entire capitalist world, a temporary and delicate balance of forces between capitalism and socialism was established, which in view of the superior forces of capitalism tended toward destruction in the form of war against the Soviet Union. Today there no longer exists a balance, but a superiority of the forces of socialism over capitalism, which strengthens the tendency toward peaceful coexistence between the two opposing systems and toward the prevention of war.

Before the Second World War the ringleaders of imperialism cherished the dream of the complete rout of the first socialist state in the world. The most reactionary imperialist circles have not abandoned these wild ideas even now. However, there are today no forces in the world capable of turning back the wheels of history and restoring the capitalist order in the socialist camp. Now, even among the ideologists of imperialism, the boastful pronouncements on the destruction of socialism are being replaced increasingly by the acknowledgement that war against the socialist camp is tantamount to suicide.

Analyzing the new situation, the XXI Congress of the CPSU pointed out that under such conditions, the formula "capitalist encirclement" no longer reflects the true picture of our country's position or the over-all state of the world today. In an interview with S. Grussar, a correspondent from the French newspaper Figaro, N. S. Khrushchev said: "Today it is not known who is encircling whom: whether the capitalist countries are encircling the socialist nations or vice versa."

The meaning of the formula "capitalist encirclement" consists in the fact that: a) the Soviet Union--the only country of victorious socialism--has withstood the entire capitalist world; b) the capitalist world has possessed a preponderance of forces over the socialist system and has had a decisive influence on the world political situation; c) in view of the superiority of forces on the side of imperialism, war ~~and intervention against the Soviet Union were more or less inevitable;~~ d) there was no necessary guarantee against the restoration of capitalism in the USSR by the forces of world imperialism.

The concept of capitalist encirclement is at once a political, geographical, and historical one. As a class-political concept, capitalist encirclement could not be reduced to the mere geographic, spatial encirclement of the socialist state by the capitalist countries, although such an encirclement did in fact take place. At the same time, as a historical concept capitalist encirclement cannot be identified with the capitalist world in general. The formula "capitalist encirclement" reflected a specific historical stage of coexistence between two opposing social systems.

Under present conditions, coexistence between the two systems has already entered a new historical phase, characterized by the fact that: a) the capitalist world is opposed not by one socialist country alone but by a world camp of socialism; b) the capitalist world has lost its preponderant superiority over the system of socialism and its determining influence on world politics; c) there is no fatal inevitability of war; d) there exists a full guarantee against restoration of the capitalist order from without by the forces of world imperialism.

Today, when both the political and geographical situations have changed, the formula "capitalist encirclement" has lost its meaning.

"Now," explained N. S. Khrushchev at the XXI Congress of the CPSU, "the world situation has changed radically. There is no longer a capitalist encirclement of our country. There exist two world social systems: an obsolescent capitalism and a socialism filled with growing, vital forces, which enjoys the sympathy of the workers of all countries" (N. S. Khrushchev, Kontrol'nyye tsifry razvitiya narodnogo khozyaystva SSSR na 1959-1965 gody /Planned Figures for the Development of the National Economy of the USSR for 1959-1965/, p. 125, Gospolitizdat, 1959).

#### The Final Victory of Socialism in the USSR and Its World-Historical Significance

On the basis of a thorough analysis of the development of the contemporary world, taking into account the international and domestic situation and the new relationship of class forces, the XXI Congress of the CPSU arrived at a conclusion on the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR, emphasizing that this problem has been solved by the whole course of world social development.

The complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR has huge international significance. It signifies, first, the further weakening

of world imperialism and the growth of the forces of socialism; second, the emergence of the Soviet Union from international isolation, thus facilitating the rapid advance of our country toward Communism; third, the creation of incomparably more favorable conditions for the building of socialism and communism in the countries of people's democracy than existed in the USSR before the Second World War; fourth, the reinforcement and expansion of the bases of the world revolutionary movement, thus facilitating the struggle of the workers for democracy and social progress in the capitalist countries; and fifth, the creation of more favorable conditions for the liberation of colonial and dependent peoples from the imperialist yoke.

The complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR signifies the collapse of bankrupt "power" politics, and the creation of new opportunities for the struggle of the people for the prevention of war and for a durable peace between nations.

The conclusion drawn by the XXI Congress of the CPSU on the complete and final victory of socialism in the USSR represents a further creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory in one of its fundamental questions as it applies to the contemporary historical situation.

Marxists have always associated the final victory of socialism with the relationship of forces between capitalism and socialism on a worldwide scale.

Previously, however, final victory was predicated on the victory of socialism in a number of the major capitalist countries at least. "...The victory of the socialist revolution can be considered final," wrote Lenin, "only when it becomes a victory of the proletariat in several advanced countries at least" (V. I. Lenin, Soch., Vol. 30, pp 185-186).

At the same time, Lenin foresaw yet another possible prospect. Explained he: "The outcome of the struggle depends, in the final analysis, on the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., constitute a gigantic majority of the population. And this very majority of the people is being drawn with extraordinary speed during recent years into a struggle for emancipation, so that in this sense there cannot be a shadow of a doubt as to what will be the ultimate resolution of the world struggle. In this sense the final victory of socialism is fully and unconditionally assured" (V. I. Lenin, Soch., Vol. 33, p. 458).

The new stand in the positions of the XXI Congress of the CPSU consists in the fact that it certifies the final victory of socialism even while the bourgeois structure in the developed capitalist countries is preserved and, additionally, under conditions when the majority of the world's people have not yet embarked on the path toward socialism. The Congress thereby defined concretely the highly important Leninist tenet regarding the final victory of socialism.

So far, the final victory of socialism has been linked with the complete removal of the danger of war and intervention against the socialist countries. Thus in Short Course in the History of the

All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)] it is stated that the victory of socialism in the USSR was not final, "since the danger of armed foreign intervention and attempts to restore capitalism have not been eliminated, and since the country of socialism has not been insured against such a danger" (p. 262).

The XXI Congress of the CPSU divided this problem into two parts: 1) the guarantee against restoration of the capitalist order in the countries of socialism; and 2) the guarantee against war against the socialist camp. The Congress showed that even if there is no full guarantee against attack from without, there most assuredly exists a full guarantee against the restoration of capitalism.

The final victory of socialism represents a certain correlation of forces between socialism and capitalism on a worldwide scale; therefore, when we speak of the final victory of socialism, we have in mind not only the Soviet Union but the entire system of socialism as a whole, for the final victory of socialism in the Soviet Union is inseparable from the development of the world socialist camp and, in turn, exerts an influence on all the other socialist countries.

Although a socialist society has not yet been constructed in the countries of people's democracy, and there exist in them remnants of the former exploiting classes and other reactionary elements, which exert a definite influence on the economic and political life of these countries, nevertheless the question of "who will win" has already been practically decided in favor of socialism on the scale of the entire world socialist system. Under present conditions the presence of the Soviet Union, where socialism has already been completely achieved, is assisting the working class in all the countries of people's democracy to resolve their internal contradictions and is making practically hopeless the attempts of the remnants of the exploiting classes to restore the capitalist order. The organic commonality of all socialist countries makes conclusive those gains which have been attained in each country of the world socialist system.

Under the conditions prevailing in the Soviet Union, the complete victory of socialism within the country was achieved before its final victory. Under present conditions, the final victory of socialism is hastening and bringing nearer the complete victory of socialism within the countries of people's democracy.

Taking into account that some countries of people's democracy already have entered the phase of completing the construction of socialism, while others are close to it, it can be said that, on the scale of the entire camp of socialism, the socialist social system has been firmly established finally and forever.

Thus, speaking about Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov said: "Our country is an inseparable part of the indivisible socialist camp, under the leadership of the Soviet Union. Consequently, socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria has triumphed not only in city and country, but has triumphed finally. There is no force which could turn back our development" (Pravda, 24 February 1959).

The final victory of socialism on the scale of the entire socialist camp means that, as a result of the building of a socialist society in the USSR and the development of the countries of people's democracy along the path toward the successful building of socialism, a guarantee has been created against the restoration of the capitalist order in these countries by the internal forces of reaction.

The world socialist camp at the same time now possesses a material-technological base which not only makes it completely independent of the caprices of world capitalism, but also capable of crushing any aggressor. The might of the socialist camp in combination with the development of the world emancipation movement has now attained such a level that there is no longer in the world any force capable of liquidating the socialist system, of checking the advance of historical development.

Consequently, the final victory of socialism on the scale of the whole socialist system means the full guarantee against the restoration of capitalism by internal reactionary forces and the forces of world capitalism; it represents a supreme world-historical gain of the people.

This victory is the result of the heroic efforts of the people of the Soviet Union, the countries of people's democracy, and the struggle of the workers of the capitalist countries and of all progressive mankind. It represents a new step on the path toward resolving the contradictions of imperialism and toward the victory of socialism on a world scale.

Final victory in the countries of socialism today, notwithstanding all its historical significance, constitutes only a part of the more general victory of socialism, which will be achieved in the future as a result of the downfall of the entire system of capitalism.

It will mean the liquidation of capitalism and the victory of the proletariat in all countries of the world, the removal of the antagonism between peoples and governments, and the liquidation of any danger of war and, therefore, the necessary military defense of the socialist countries against attack from without.

The final victory of socialism in the countries of the socialist camp under present conditions means then that there exist two opposing world social systems--capitalism and socialism; that between them there exist antagonistic contradictions; that although the capitalist world is powerless to restore its order in the socialist countries, there nevertheless exists the danger of a war being unleashed against the socialist countries by the capitalist world, in view of which the socialist countries are forced to bolster their defensive might, diverting for this purpose a considerable part of their material resources.

From this it follows that the final victory of socialism, achieved in the USSR and in the countries of people's democracy in the present stage, differs substantially from the victory of socialism on a world scale, to be achieved in the future.

In the age of atomic and hydrogen energy, when arms are means of mass destruction, the capitalist world can in case of war inflict



serious damage on the socialist camp, but in the end would itself experience inevitable collapse.

History shows that the more the forces of socialism grow and the more hopeless the position of the capitalist world becomes, the imperialists strive the more persistently to undermine the positions of the socialist countries, to resurrect in them the old capitalist order. In their subversive activities the imperialists are seeking to rely on the reactionary bourgeois elements which are still preserved in the countries of people's democracy. They smuggle spies and saboteurs into the socialist countries for the purpose of undermining the national structure. They pursue the same end through systematic imperialist propaganda by radio, the press, etc. Finally, as the Hungarian events showed, the imperialists do not hesitate to organize counterrevolutionary insurrections in the countries of people's democracy. For this reason, the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries, after soberly evaluating the situation, cannot for a moment give in to complacency or serenity. They must maintain an extreme vigilance, preserve as the apple of their eye the unity of the socialist countries, and strengthen to the utmost their defensive might, so as to be fully equipped to repel any possible aggression from the side of imperialism.

The victory of socialism over capitalism is a natural historical process. Just as the transition from one structure to another in the past, so also is the victory of socialism over capitalism on a worldwide scale absolutely inevitable by virtue of the objective, natural social development, the intensification of the contradictions of capitalism, and the development of the class struggle within the capitalist countries. In this connection, the lying assertions of the defenders of capitalism as to the "export" of revolution, propagated by the bourgeois press, are entirely groundless. Capitalism itself generates the conditions for its ruin. This is clearly illustrated by the example of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which triumphed without any overt support from the outside. But of course the existence and development of the socialist countries inevitably hastens this objective process, engendered by capitalism itself, and creates favorable opportunities for it.

The development toward socialism under present conditions is proceeding along two inseparably linked routes--the intensification of class contradictions within the capitalist countries on the one hand, and the growth and strengthening of the world socialist camp on the other.

Moreover, inasmuch as imperialism is threatening the socialist countries with war and is preparing for it, there continue to exist two alternatives for the final resolution of contradictions between capitalism and socialism in favor of socialism--that of war and that of peaceful economic competition between the two systems.

In case of another world war, if the aggressive forces managed to unleash one, a number of powerful revolutionary currents could unite and flow together in the struggle against imperialism: the countries of



the socialist camp, the revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries in the form of the working class and the toiling masses following in their wake, the movement of the colonies and dependent countries for national liberation, and the movement of the peasantry for land. An important role would be played also by the over-all democratic movement of peoples for peace, against war. This concerted struggle of the peoples of the capitalist countries, supported by the efforts of the socialist camp, will lead not only to the liquidation of capitalism in the individual countries, but in the end to the downfall of the entire capitalist system. Decrepit capitalism is unable to survive another large scale war.

Under conditions of peaceful competition, the transition from capitalism to socialism can be accomplished by the systematic and gradual freeing of the individual countries from the chains of imperialism as a result of the victory of revolution in each individual country.

Depending on which of the above alternatives is taken, there will be different conditions, tempos, forms, sequences, and paths toward the final downfall of the world capitalist system, paths toward the victory of revolution in the capitalist countries.

The Communists are fervent partisans of the victory of socialism, but they are resolutely opposed to the final triumph of socialism being achieved as the result of war, at such a high price. They are therefore taking every care that the forceful actions of imperialism come to nought, that a new world war will not be permitted, and that the victory of socialism over capitalism will be ensured in individual countries, as well as on a worldwide scale, through peaceful means.

Now that the fatal inevitability of a new world war no longer exists, the possibility has increased for resolving the contradictions between capitalism and socialism through peaceful economic competition between the two opposing social systems.

An important step in the peaceful economic competition between the two systems--socialism and capitalism--will be the fulfilment of the 1959-1965 Seven-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR.

As outlined in the materials of the XXI Congress of the CPSU, as a result of the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan the Soviet Union will produce a higher per capita industrial output than is now being produced in the most highly developed capitalist countries of Europe--England and West Germany--and will occupy first place in Europe. By 1965 the Soviet Union will surpass the present US level of industrial output in terms of absolute output of certain major forms of production and will approach it in others. By that time, per capita production of the most important agricultural products will exceed the present US level. By 1965 all the countries of socialism will produce more than half of the world's industrial output, ensuring the absolute superiority of the world system of socialism over the capitalist system in material production--a decisive sphere of human activity.

The superiority of the USSR in its rate of production growth will create a real basis for overtaking and surpassing the US per capita level of production within approximately 5 years after 1965. Thus, at that time, perhaps even earlier, the Soviet Union will occupy first place in the world in terms of absolute volume of production and per capita production, thus ensuring the highest standard of living in the world. This will be the world-historical victory of socialism in its peaceful competition with capitalism.

While the Great October Socialist Revolution opened the era of capitalism's downfall and the triumph of socialism, and while the revolutions in the countries of people's democracy and the transformation of socialism into a world system ensured the final victory of socialism, the attainment of the absolute superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system in material production, and the creation of the world's highest standard of living in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries will signify the complete economic victory of socialism over the obsolete capitalist system. The victory of socialism over the capitalism in peaceful economic competition will be the turning point in the resolution of the historical destinies of all mankind. This victory will lead inevitably to the further weakening of imperialism and to the creation of new conditions, first, for freeing new countries from the capitalist system, for the example of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese People's Republic, and of all the socialist countries reveals the inexhaustible creative possibilities of the working people, freed from the bondage of exploitation, and mobilizes the working class and all workers of the capitalist countries and colonies in the struggle for their vital interests, for peace, for democracy, for socialism. Second, it will serve as a powerful factor in limiting the most detestable manifestations of imperialism even in those countries where capitalism may still survive. Third, this victory, revealing the profound advantages of socialism and Communism over obsolescence capitalism, will force the ruling classes of the capitalist countries to make fundamental concessions to the working class.

The peaceful coexistence of the two opposing social systems is not the simple, unceasing, and parallel development of capitalism and socialism, but a development in the course of which the superiority of socialism over capitalism is comprehensively revealed and conditions are created for the complete triumph of Communism.